

morality before they can enter into "Association" with any reasonable prospect of realizing that scheme—as you believe it to be—theory. If these things be so, what hope can we rest on the very active movements now going forward?

I regard the question of "Society"—their utility—as settled, alike by the experience of 30 years and by the leading nature of supply and demand. Experiments in Association have—so far—produced results the reverse of encouraging. Even Association Grocery-stores, the most simple and workable kind of associated effort, have not, I believe, generally succeeded. We had one in this village, which languished for a year or two, and has now been extinct several months.

But where men have to raise capital, purchase materials, procure workshop, etc., to themselves; to turn out an article for sale, establish a store to sell it, as the difficulties will be greatly enhanced—First, because in all its efforts will be required, a joint idea of its leading properties. Among the subjects treated in this volume are the Laws of Motion, the Descent of Falling Bodies, the Strength of Materials, the Mechanical Powers. Thirdly, a sound and profitable market for its goods. And this last would be hardly less difficult of attainment than the other two.

Because take an Association of the Hatters, for example. They have their factory in the suburbs—then store in Broadway—goods of the best descriptions—they think that the established house would not bring all their merit in business—all their resources in money and credit—into their knowledge of customers—to bear against the "innovators." Why, Sir, it would be the reverse of these houses to have money in running down their new-built road, and they would not be needed.

Do we then conclude to discountenance labor, and hand it over to spoliation and despoliation? God forbid! I had with my eye evidence that it is "not dead but still perishes." I raised my voice to encourage—I held a light to guide it in its onward path. Artisans and laborers are now led to labor in the seaboard cities. Their numbers are recruited, as it ought to be, by the legitimate demand for their services in those crowded ports. One thing every individual of them knows, and that is that he wants to earn the means of living, and so he throws himself into the crowd to struggle and compete for something to do. All cannot be employed, and so in the single winter we see drawn, on the prime of a Dutch auction.

And out of 200,000 men obtaining their employment, and every man employed in his industry—and every wage that waits a ship across the Atlantic—and every man in evil already for his expenses and power to be grasped by his own combination of the laborers—any change must in the superfluous reward.

There is one, for the evil—there is only one—and that one is as foolish and efficient that there is no necessity of another.

There happens to be a small gentleman, about "out west," who is ready to give employment to every intelligent worker who comes prepared with the necessary tools. His wages average, better than three dollars a day.

Now, what the industrious laborers of our cities want is rest and easy access to full recreation, old and youthful—nothing which has been hitherto denied them. In his employment there is no scope for rest. On the contrary, the work of the world is to be done, and the time is short.

The spirit of the fair disappears. The Americans are few, and the English, few indeed. No knowing how to live, on pain of losing a quarter-share for a delinquent, or a master. No laborer can tell, that out of 200,000 wages, probably, how many are in our own land of inheritance fit for five hundred men. In the enjoyment of these great personal health, cheerfulness, happiness, love of country and love of home—all the physical and private life—spring up, not to talk of increased individual independence and a first-rate living, in return for your work.

Let the workers have free access to their own gentleman's domain. If they be not able to buy themselves, and save your whole Purser Tax, well a good trade leaves of the time is secured. However, among this fair, the honest, and modest the principle of permanent foundation will command a name to posterity, which is a star of equal magnitude and even greater glory. We resolve in the same sky, with that of Washington, so long as the sun shall roll, and the earth keeps her hold here.

No great national glory—no great or permanent redemption to man—ever resulted from petty local movements. Speaking of the rise and prosperity of ancient States, Volney has the following in his "Ruins of Empires."

"Every man finding his own, well-being in the constitution of his country, took a lively interest in its preservation; if a stranger attacked it, having his field, his house, to defend, he carried into the combat all the valour of a personal quarrel, and devoted to his own interests, he was devoted to his country."

"As every action, as fit to the public, attracted its esteem and gratitude, every one was eager to be useful, and to have multiplied talents and civic virtues."

"Every citizen contributing equally by his goods, and his person, arms and funds were ineffectual, and nations displayed formidable masses of power."

"The earth being free, and its possession never and easy, every man was a proprietor, and the division of property preserved morals and rendered heavy impositions."

"Every one cultivating for himself culture was more abundant, and individual wealth constituted public wealth."

The abundance of produce rendering subsistence easy, population was rapid, and names of, and States attained quickly the term of their plenitude."

"Production increasing beyond consumption, the necessity of commerce was felt, and exchanges took place between people and people, which augmented their activity and reciprocal advantages."

Sir, in principle like these lie the secret of individual happiness and national greatness. The present labor movements are indeed "lame and impotent conclusions." It is the willing and trembling of a school of tortured smothering whales shut up in a nail-pool. Any change of posture will, indeed, afford them slight relief. Open the cage and let them out into the ocean. There is no other cure.

On this Slavery question! Of these questions of new Territories and new States! They are occupying the mind of the nation. They are dragging it away, and away, from the real issue upon which hangs the future freedom or the future slavery of the entire Human Race. Fifty years hence—probably in half the time, Steam Machinery will render Southern Slavery, as losing a concern at hand loom weaving, become in the North of England. Surely we are to expect Financial actions doomed—doomed, by that revelation of God's Will, Science. But in the meantime it stands forth a giant in the way, crushing back and knocking to the earth, every effort toward that Reform which must, as it succeeds or fails, decide the fate of man as an inhabitant of this earth.

THOMAS AUNGEE DEVYER
Washington, D. C. April 25, 1860.

"You are right in the main, Mr. Devyer, but the Workers of our City are not wrong. What they are doing is right too, though not final—nobody regards it as such. Every Association is already a Land Reformer, every earnest Protective Unionist is for Free Land or soon will be. The present movement looks to Rights for All. Do not run one Reformer across the paths of another, but try to have each push along all the rest."

J. T. TRAD

"It would be easy to show that a man working diligently for years on a queer section of Western land would be richer at the end of that time than he would be had he worked for a day for his work during that period in any of our cities."

BUSINESS NOTICES.

CLOTH FACTORY, 307 Broadway.—Ladies are invited to examine this rich collection of Dress Combs, not equalled in extent or variety in the city, among which will be found the open chain pattern, as well as the same made to order, after any design, no matter how intricate. Combs altered and repaired.

A. J. SAUNDERS
Comb Factory, 307 Broadway.

"Our assortment of fine quality ready-made garments comprises various new styles, Business and Travelling Frocks, Suits, Dress and Frock Coats, Light Overcoats, Parasols, Etc., Etc.

W. T. JENNINGS, 307 Broadway.

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CUT NAILS, PLATE AND BAR IRON.—The undersigned manufacture the American Cut Iron, embracing all sizes, including Extra fine, and Steel, and White, with various of English Extra fine, and Steel, and White. From them they offer for sale at 210 Water St.

SAMUEL T. TISDALE & CO.

"For SALE.—The entire machinery and apparatus of a chocolate, coffee, mustard and spice factory, either with or without the premises. Address G. F. REILLY, Tribune Building, or JOHN REILLY, 194 West.

EXTRACT OF LOGWOOD.—A superior article made and sold, as for sale by the Neptunus Mills, Office 135 Water St. [225 broad]. RUSSELL & STILES.

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